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The Troubadour Marcabru and his Public ¹

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As reflections of the way in which a troubadour presented himself in his songs, Marcabru's two thirteenth-century biographies, despite their many differences, offer us essentially similar images of the early twelfth-century poet.² Both furnish brief details of questionable reliability concerning his background: he was either of obscure origins, a foundling brought up by one N'Aldric del Vilar (MS A), or of lowly birth, the son of a poor woman called Marcabruna (MS K).³ The first *vida* emphasises his reputation:

E fo mout cridatz et ausitz pel mon, e doptatz per sa
lenga,

(He was very famous and people listened to him throughout the world, and he was feared because of his sharp tongue)

while the second biography records that

Trobaire fo dels premiers c'om se recort. De
caitivetz vers e de caitivetz serventes fez, e dis
mal de las femnas e d'amor.

(He was one of the first troubadours that people remember. He composed gloomy *vers* and gloomy *sirventes*, and spoke ill of women and of love.)⁴

That Marcabru was viewed as a figure of considerable literary stature by later generations is confirmed by the fourteenth-century MS R, which introduces a collection of his songs with the phrase: 'Aisi

comensa so de Marcabru que fo lo premier trobador que fos' ('Here begin the songs of Marcabru, who was the first troubadour of all'), and by the fact that as many as six later troubadours and some four later writers all refer to the poet by name.⁵ The majority of these allusions corroborate the testimony of the *vidas* in their evocations of Marcabru as a sharp-tongued critic or *maldizen*. In the opinion of Matfre Ermengaud:

Anc En Marcabrus non hac par
de maldire ...

(Sir Marcabru never had his equal in evil-speaking),

and the troubadour Marcoat seems to praise Marcabru for his caustic outspokenness:

Anc pois mori Marcabrus
ni Roilis perdet del mus,
miels de mi no.ls entamena. (28-30)

(Since Marcabru died and Roilis lost part of his muzzle, no one tears strips off them (?) better than I do.)⁶

An accomplished *trouvère* named Marcabru also appears in the thirteenth-century Northern French romance, *Joufroi de Poitiers*, as a character sent to the court of King Henry in London in search of his lord, Joufroi.⁷ Upon finding him, Marcabru harshly criticises the count for neglecting his duties and responsibilities as *seigneur*:

'Mauvais cuens lainiers et chaitis,
Que fais tu en cestui pais? ...
Certes mult ti fusse plus gent
Que tu defendisses ta terre
Que cha fusses folie querre.' (3675-84)

('Cowardly, contemptible and idle count, what are you doing here? It would have been much more fitting for you to have defended your lands rather than to have gone pleasure-seeking.')

In these acerbic attacks it is more than tempting to see traces of the

survival of the troubadour's reputation as a *maldizen*.⁸

The impact of Marcabru's compositions is attested by those of his fellows and successors, and his renown is reflected also in the comparatively large number of his songs which have been preserved by the MSS.⁹ These are characterised by their bitter denunciations of the avarice, immorality and degeneracy of his time:

Duc e rei senes messonja
 Ll'an primier la boca clausa,
 Qu'ill fan de pauc fag gran nauza
 Quar Donars lur fai vergonha;
 Tan tem quecs que falha trama
 Per qu'en lur cortz non es visa
 Copa ni enaps d'argent,
 Mantells vairs ni pena griza. (XI, 41-48)¹⁰

(Dukes and kings, without a word of a lie, were the first to shut the mouth (of *Proeza*), for they make a great noise about very small deeds since (true) generosity puts them to shame; each one is so afraid that his money will run out - which is why at their courts you will not see cups or goblets of silver, nor fur mantles, nor other rich furs.)

One of his most elaborate songs verges on the allegorical and bears traces of the clerical education with which modern scholars have not hesitated to credit him.¹¹ Poem XXXIX develops the image of an immense tree with roots of *Malvestatz* which has grown to overshadow the whole world: from its branches, princes, counts and kings hang by the neck in nooses of Miserliness and, in its shade, so to speak, squat figures drawn from this particular poet's demonology, those adulterous husbands and corrupt, effete court officials whom he holds to blame for the degeneracy of society.¹² Marcabru's songs are sprinkled with obscenities which scholars of a gentler age have hesitated to translate, and even more liberally sprinkled with scornful, smutty innuendo which the troubadour employs to expose and condemn promiscuity masquerading as courtly *fin'amor*.¹³ He attacks adulterous ladies of the aristocracy:

Estas putas ardens cremans
 Pejors que ieu no.us saubra dir;

Tan lor sap bo lo clau copar,
 Que non hi guardon dreg ni tort,
 Mas selh que mielhs las sap ronsar! (XXXIV, 31-35)

(Those ardent, burning whores, worse than I would know how to tell you; it pleases them so much to 'cut the nail' that they pay no heed to right or wrong, but only to the man who knows best how to roll them over!)¹⁴

Of his forty-one surviving songs, only six could be described as positive in tone: the remaining pieces are aggressively and relentlessly acrimonious, and yet the MS evidence demonstrates that they possessed an enduring appeal.¹⁵ A modern reader might well wonder which magnate would welcome into his household a troubadour who specialised in compositions which include passages such as this:

Moillerat, li meillor del mon
 Foratz, mas chascus vos faitz drutz,
 Que vos confon,
 E son acaminat li con
 Per qu'es Jovens forabanditz
 E vos en apell'om cornutz. (IV, 31-36)

(Husbands, you would be the best men in the world, but each one of you turns himself into a lover, which destroys you; and the *cons* are on the march, which is why youth is banished and men call you cuckolds.)¹⁶

It is, on the face of it, difficult to reconcile the abrasive content of such works with the idea of their enjoying a favourable reception by his contemporary public. One of the thirteenth-century biographers appears to have experienced a similar problem for, according to legend, Marcabru was murdered by the outraged castellans of Guyenne who were exasperated by his repeated attacks.¹⁷

Against this background, I propose to attempt another examination of this intriguing troubadour's presentation of himself in his songs, in both a 'historical' and a literary light.

It must be said straight away that there are severe limitations to a historical approach, since there is no documentary trace of Marcabru:

the only evidence concerning his life and career is found in scattered historical allusions contained in his often hermetic songs.¹⁸ One may conclude from these that Marcabru's poetic activity spanned the years c.1129-1150, and that he travelled widely in South West France and Northern Spain, visiting the courts of Poitiers, Toulouse, Leon and Barcelona. Several important figures can be listed among his probable patrons at one time or another: William X, duke of Aquitaine, Alfonso-Jordan, count of Toulouse, the Emperor Alfonso VII of Castile-Leon, and possibly also Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona. Marcabru may, in addition, have approached the courts of Portugal and Béarn.¹⁹

From this fragmentary picture it is fairly safe to assume that Marcabru's means seem not to have been sufficient for him to maintain himself. In addition to needing an audience, as does any artist, he needed a patron. His approaches to Alfonso VII are accompanied by flattering and hopeful allusions to Alfonso's generosity: he calls the Spanish ruler a 'larc donaire' ('Aujatz de chan', 32), and it is the *largesse* which Alfonso may show to Marcabru which distinguishes him from the avaricious barons of Southern France.²⁰ In the same song he says of them that *Joven* is lost:

pos ist baron an comensat l'estraire
e passat don per pertuis de taraire. (11-12)

(Since these barons have become miserly and passed their gifts through the eye of a needle.)²¹

His complaints about seigneurial avarice are frequent. In Poem XI he reproaches the powerful for their uncourtly miserliness:

Per qu'en lur cortz non es visa
Copa ni enaps d'argent,
Mantells vairs ni pena griza. (46-48)

(Which is why at their courts you will not see cups or goblets of silver, nor fur mantles nor other rich furs.)

Earlier research has shown that 'clothing or garments frequently appear ... (in the records) in enumerations of gifts' to performers, who were also rewarded with presents of gold and silver objects such as

goblets.²²

To professional rivalry between *joglars* has been attributed the apparently venomous *réplique* by Marcabru to Alegret in the same song. While both Marcabru and Alegret deplore the decline in courtly values, particularly the exercise of *largueza*, in 'Ara pareisson ll'aubre sec', Alegret makes an exception of 'lo senhor de cui es Occidentz' (35), understood to be Alfonso VII.²³ The closing lines of Marcabru's lament for the degeneration of society are thought to be an attack on Alegret who had replaced, or attempted to replace Marcabru in the Spanish Emperor's favour.²⁴

Alegretz, folls, en qual guiza
Cujas far d'avol valen,
Ni de gonella camiza? (XI, 65-7)

(Alegret, you fool, however do you think you can make a worthy man out of a base one, or a fine shirt from a rough tunic (or a silk purse from a sow's ear?))

One of Marcabru's poetic dialogues could be understood as revealing something of the relations between a peripatetic player (XX, 34-36) and a patron who claims to have no means of rewarding him (XX, 19-24). Aldric sends Marcabru away but adds:

Quan tornaras
Segurs seras
De seignor, et ieu de joglar. (XX, 40-42)

(When you return you will be assured of a lord, and I of a *joglar*.)

Marcabru in his turn accuses Aldric of leading a life of profligacy and *luxuria* and of having a spiteful tongue:

De lengueiar
Contra joglar
Etz plus afilatz que milans. (XX, bis 31-33)

(In speaking against *joglars*, you have a tongue sharper than a kite's beak.)

Whatever the connotations or status of the *joglar* at the time that these songs were composed, Marcabru does not explicitly reject the name, and this accords with the picture - hinted at in his other songs - of a professional performer who both composed his own songs and performed them himself for a livelihood.²⁵

In Marcabru's lyric dialogue with Uc Catola, as in that with Aldric del Vilar, the participants hurl such aggressive insults at each other that one is led to wonder whether the songs are indeed serious. It is quite likely that these slurs are part of witty exchanges rather than being serious, factual accusations. Although an invitation to a poetic debate does not imply social parity, the interlocutors in these cases may well have been good friends and the venomous poems involving Sir Aldric in fact a humorous exchange.²⁶

In addition to these two men - Uc Catola and Aldric - whoever they were, who do not seem to have belonged to the lowest social orders,²⁷ Marcabru seems to have had personal and perhaps friendly contacts with other, quite high-ranking figures. His relations with the Catalan nobleman, Guerau de Cabrera, with Jaufre Rudel, and Alfonso VII of Castile-Leon have led scholars to doubt that Marcabru was of merely humble origins, even given the freemasonry of artistic circles.²⁸

The question of how Marcabru presents himself in terms of his contemporary social context becomes particularly interesting at this point. He identifies himself on several occasions with the *soudadiers*, as do a number of other troubadours.²⁹ In one of his laments for the decline of the old nobility and, with them, the old values, he complains about their ignoble successors: they are prodigal with empty promises,

don los claman flacs e bauducs
ieu e tug l'autre soudadier. (23-24)³⁰

(Which is why I and all the other *soudadiers* call them weak bickerers (?).)

The song 'Doas cuidas' is addressed to his 'companioner', and it becomes clear that these also include *soudadiers*, who are disappointed in their aspirations to glory and riches.³¹ Marcabru uses the word *nostre* when talking about their state of mind, thus reinforcing the impression that he is referring to his peer-group.³² The troubadour's warning against the evil wiles of the whorish chimera is also directed

to the *soudadiers* 'by whom *Joi* and similarly *Joven* are upheld' (XLIV, 1-2).

Who does Marcabru mean when he speaks of *soudadiers*? There are several possibilities and each sheds a rather different light on Marcabru's self-presentation. If we focus at first on the secular and the military (as is suggested in 'Doas cuidas'), it is likely that the term includes, in a wide range of retainers who are in someone's pay or *solda*, young knights who are without a fief or fortune for one reason or another, and who hire out their services. Such men would be distinguished by the fact that they were not born on the domaine of the lord they served, but nevertheless formed part of his household and, like its other members, looked to the lord for their subsistence and advancement.³³ Linda Paterson has shown that this state of expectant dependency is reflected in the lyric by the troubadours' references to the obligations of the *rics* to the *soudadiers*.³⁴ Such loose groupings of 'trained professionals', as they have been called,³⁵ can be seen as being composed of landless knights, men akin to Duby's *iuvènes*, and troubadours, all with interests in common in that, whatever their *métier*, all were dependent upon the generosity of their lord.³⁶ It must be said, however, that under these circumstances, the phrase 'interests in common' also covers intensely competitive jostling for position between individuals and factions.

Marcabru's concern for the *soudadiers* may also be reflected in his numerous laments for the decline of *Joven* and its lack of fulfilment, in those passages of his songs where it is possible that *Joven* designates a social group rather than the courtly principle or virtue.³⁷ This interpretation could apply in Poem VIII where Marcabru says

Pesa.m de Joven car s'en fuig,
C'a penas troba qui.l convit. (4-5)

(It grieves me that *Joven* flees away for it can hardly find anyone to welcome it.)

Marcabru may be deploring the fact that there is no place for young men at the courts of miserly nobles, no welcome for the unplaced *soudadier*. Cercamon expresses a similar thought more explicitly:

Per qu'ieu n'estauc marritz e cossiros,
Que soudadiers non truep ab cuy s'apays, (VI, 32-33)

(I am sad and anxious because the *soudadier* can find no one to sustain him)

and Marcabru condemns outright the man who starves 'sa maisnada' (XI, 61).

When Aldric says 'Reconogut/ T'ai, Pan-perdut' (XX, 37-8), he may be directing a jibe against Marcabru the troubadour-performer-*soudadier* who has lost his patron and means of support ('bread'), and who is therefore seeking a new patron.³⁸

The 'Pan-perdut' tag is fascinating. Rita Lejeune suggested that the expression should rather be understood to derive from *pannum perditum*, meaning 'coin perdu', 'lost land', and that it had come to be associated with people who come from such a 'lieu désert, isolé, inculte', such as vagabonds.³⁹ Aldric's pejorative words could also be rendered 'lambeau, morceau perdu', and since it is not very far from there to 'enfant trouvé', she also wonders whether the whole story of Marcabru the abandoned child derives solely from this text.⁴⁰ Given the reference to 'bread' in the metrically identical *gap*, it is equally likely than *pan* here derives from *panem*, but I also wonder whether Aldric's epithet could be understood to mean 'disinherited'?⁴¹

If, rather than being of lowly birth, Marcabru were, for example, a younger son, as some have tentatively suggested, he would not only have identified with the values and aspirations of *Joven*, but would himself have belonged to that group.⁴² If he were one of a number of sons of a family of the lesser nobility, he may have been obliged to seek his fortune as a *soudadier*, whether by means of his intellectual, poetic skills, or by the sword, or both. Such a hypothesis would help to account for his apparent renewed searches for patronage, and for his complaints about the avarice of the seigneurial classes which so damages the prospects of young men. It would also accord with the *vidas*' frequent references to 'poor knights' (*milites minores*) who take up a musical career.⁴³

There is little in all this to support the picture of Marcabru, inferred from the *vidas*, as a *joglar* of lowly birth: in fact, apart from Marcabru, there are hardly any *vilains* in the alchemical social mix which produced the troubadours. Probably Marcabru himself should not be counted as a *vilain* at all. Recent work on Bernart de Ventadorn has raised his supposedly lowly status. Firstly, it has indicated that this poet's humble origins are likely to be the result of the

biographers' literal interpretation of the stanza Peire d'Alvernhe devotes to Bernart in his 'galerie littéraire' - which was in turn a humorous literalisation of imagery employed by Bernart in his own songs - and, secondly, it has uncovered the existence of a Bernardus, son of Eble de Ventadorn, who reached manhood in the third quarter of the twelfth century.⁴⁴ The statement 'Oh, what a rogue and peasant slave am I' is, after all, no reliable guide to the status and origins of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark ... A similar process of transformation may account for our picture of Marcabru's humble beginnings. While one appreciates the difficult position of the authors of the *vidas*, the remark in MS K that Marcabru was 'fils d'una paubra femna que ac nom Marcabruna' cannot be taken at face value. It is derived, as the biographer acknowledges, from one of Marcabru's poems, a particularly dramatic and memorable song for which the musical notation survives and which is 'transmitted by no fewer than nine MSS. There, according to Dejeanne's edition, the troubadour refers to himself as 'Marcabrus, fills Marcabruna' (XVIII, 67), but he goes on to explain how the circumstances of his birth have given him a privileged insight into the ways of love. Both the context and the MS traditions hint that this declaration is an unreliable basis for biographical inference.⁴⁵ Even if we do accept it as containing sound data, the adjective 'paubra' needs to be accounted for. Perhaps the troubadour's complaints about seigneurial avarice suggested it to the scribe, or perhaps, as has been recently suggested, the author was adhering to rules governing the structure and content of biographical writings: the statement that his mother was poor would then have supplied the subject of the *vida* with a status or *fortuna*.⁴⁶ However, even if we concede that the *vida's* statement may contain traces of factual information now lost to us, David Herlihy's research into the use of matronymics in documents from Southern France and Northern Spain shows that it was customary for individuals - laity and clergy - to identify themselves with reference to their mothers.⁴⁷ Marcabru's words in Poem XVIII, even taken at face value, are no sure indication that he was a bastard, and they cannot justify the comment, which appears as a footnote to an otherwise sensitive and very sophisticated analysis of the lyric voice in 'Al departir del brau tempier', that 'Marcabru ... was an illegitimate son of peasants'.⁴⁸

In his songs Marcabru classes himself with the dependent *soudadiers*, and his bitter criticisms of the evil *girbaut* and *gardador* may shed further light on this question.

Identification of these men is problematic. Lynne Lawner has focused on the socio-political context in which Marcabru, a 'poet of transformation', was composing, and stressed the need to recognise a link between 'the erotic and the political planes of Marcabru's discourse'.⁴⁹ She argues that Marcabru apprehended the changes transforming twelfth-century society, and that he perceived these as a rapid erosion of the 'old order'. His songs therefore express a pessimistic conservatism, and he uses themes such as adultery and the bastardisation of the nobility in order to represent what he saw as the degeneration of the old order and the corruption of the old values.⁵⁰ Among the targets of his criticism are the figures of the *gardador* and *girbaut* ('louts', 'churls') who appear to be ciphers in his songs, representing 'an indeterminate but very real evil penetrating the interstices of society'.⁵¹ Given that Marcabru was expressing his general unease through the medium of lyric poetry, his anxiety is translated in his songs into imprecise terms in which the group of evil infiltrators could at times be understood to be rival poets, or guardians of women's virtue who seduce their charges, or perhaps the products of changing economic and social forces, those *curiales* and *domestici* of Southern French courts whose activities threaten the status, livelihood and future prospects of the group with whom Marcabru identifies himself.⁵²

If one understands *soudadier* to have the broad meaning of 'court dependent, retainer' - as do Richard Goddard and recent editors of Cercamon - this would also cover administrators, *sirven*, and officials engaged in running the household.⁵³ It has been demonstrated that both Marcabru and Cercamon received a clerical training, and it is not impossible that they exercised an administrative function, at the court of Poitiers, for example, in addition to their role as entertainers.⁵⁴ The clerkly 'Maïstre' Cercamon holds 'sist sirven fals' to blame for alienating *Joven*, and for the fact that Miserliness rules the barons, and he says that the lords' slanderous advisors banish the *soudadier*.⁵⁵ It appears that in Cercamon we have traces of the rivalries within the household and the competition for lordly favour which Duby sees as the source of the animation of court life.⁵⁶

Some of Marcabru's songs seem to reflect similar rivalries and conflicts. 'A l'alena del vent doussa', for example, is apparently directed against a group of evil men whom the poet refers to as *gardadors*. He also describes them as 'aquist soldat' ('these hirelings'), and 'estraitz pla', which could be interpreted as 'stupid (*pla*) and low-

born or illegitimate'.⁵⁷ By engaging such men, Marcabru argues, the lords become *guazalhan* ('animal leaseholders') and they 'meton nostras molhers en joc' ('they put our women at risk', 24-25). The lords enjoy only a share of their own wives, while the *gardadors* enjoy the other share. Marcabru complains that these men are 'encaritz' (13), well thought of or favoured by the lord. Moreover, he adds,

cist fan la malvestat rebon
quan no.s fan donar non per oc. (34-35)

(These men make evil increase when they cause us to be given the reply 'no' instead of 'yes'.)

One of the interpretations of this hermetic passage may be that the wicked men have influence with the lord and use it to frustrate the requests and ambitions of Marcabru and his group. He calls them 'guasta-pa' ('bread-spoilers', 13): could they be rivals in the household, 'spoiling the bread', taking away the living of Marcabru and his fellow *soudadiers*? The troubadour may here be abusing men who have become established in the *maisnada* and in the lord's favour and who are blocking access to similar secure positions by others:

Qu'entr'els non a clau ni meja
qu'els non aion del plus preon
e del frug lo prim e.l segon. (31-33)

(For in their company there is no key or wall which prevents them from getting what is most well-hidden, both the first fruits and the second.)

Perhaps one could carry this interpretation a little further and argue that the 'bread-spoilers' could be some sort of steward or household official trusted by the lord and who, in addition to the legitimate rewards of their office (the 'first fruits'?), extort or obtain more than they are entitled to (the 'second fruits'), thus siphoning off perks which might otherwise be distributed among the *soudadiers* on the periphery of the household.⁵⁸

In his song about the tree of *Malvestatz* Marcabru also speaks of stewards. The fault he singles out in this polemic piece is avarice among the nobility. Wise men are deceived, he says,

per los acropitz penchenatz
 que tot jorn demandon salutz,
 e demandon aco per ces;
 c'anc nuills francs hom non dec sofrir
 c'aitals gastaus fumos tengues. (XXXIX, 59-63)

(by these base, primed-up dandies who continually ask for perks and who, moreover, demand these as their due. No noble man should ever tolerate such smoke-blackened stewards.)⁵⁹

The lord's attention and *largesse* are apparently directed towards such foppish courtiers, retainers with a steward's office who spend all their time lounging cosily by the fire.⁶⁰ They are described as obtaining more than the legitimate rewards of their office, more than the first fruits, since they demand 'perks', *salutz*, which Du Cange glosses as 'levies, exactions, gifts made over and above the *censum* which is due'.⁶¹ According to Marcabru, all this is to the detriment of *Joven*, which he describes as *confondutz* and frustrated (24-25).

These stewards may be compared with the later Northern French *sénéchal*, execrated for similar reasons in that those in charge of the household accounts would have been quite likely to restrain gestures of generosity to *joglars* and other impecunious riff-raff and, as administrators, they could restrict access to a patron or protector.⁶² What Marcabru regards as malice may simply have been an example of a man doing his job conscientiously.

Marcabru's 'girbaut de maiso' who cuckolds his lord (XXXI, 55-63) and the loutish 'guirbautz', companions of rich barons (XXIX, 19-30), could be understood as stewards. *Girbaut* itself is a loaded term in this connection. It is thought to have originated in the use of a proper name as a name typical of servants, and from the meaning 'servant', 'homme vil', the word came also to denote 'lout, libertine'.⁶³ When Marcabru uses the term, he could be referring to lowly, churlish household menials, or he may be applying the epithet to officials of the lord's *maisnada* as a term of sneering abuse. An illuminating parallel can be found in Orderic Vitalis: Professor Allen Brown refers to the passage in his study of the status of the Norman knight, and he points out that 'when the young count Waleran of Meulan, before his defeat at Bourghthéroulde in 1124 ... haughtily called the king's knights who opposed him "country bumpkins and mercenaries"

(*pagenses et gregarios*), he did so as an insult and not a sociological observation'.⁶⁴ Marcabru's hostility to the *girbautz* could be interpreted as the resentment administrative upstarts inspired in other *soudadiers* who were leading a precarious existence and jockeying for a more secure position in the lord's favour.

If, in the terms I have outlined, Marcabru's sympathies seem to lie primarily with some of the *soudadiers* of the seigneurial household, it may be illuminating to consider more closely the possible composition of his likely audiences. Maria Luisa Meneghetti's work leads her to the conclusion that, in the earliest phase of the troubadour lyric, there were relatively few courts where troubadours were welcomed, relatively few which can be *demonstrated* to have taken an interest in lyric poetry. It is only in the second half of the twelfth century that evidence can be found for an explosion of interest on the part of the aristocratic public, and this corresponded to a similar increase in the number of practising artists whose works have survived.⁶⁵ Marcabru, then, could have been competing with his fellow-poets for the attention of a comparatively restricted public. Moreover, the conditions under which troubadour performances were possible were also rather specialised: an intricate and sophisticated art-form required a very attentive and sensitive audience. Large court occasions and official celebrations would not themselves have fostered the creation of a calm and intense *rappor*t between audience and performer: rather the ideal conditions were as later described by Raimon Vidal's nostalgic *joglar* in 'Abrils issi'e mays intrava':

E la nueg si fo, co yeu vi,
mot tenebroz' apres manjar
e.l solatz grans josta.l foc clar
de cavayers e de joglars
adreitz e fis e dos e cars
e suaus ad homes cortes;
e no.y ac cridat ni pus mes
peguezeza sol de primier. (158-65)⁶⁶

(And I saw that after the meal the evening was very dark, and beside the bright fire great conviviality (*solatz*?) was enjoyed by knights and *joglars*, fine and noble, gentle and esteemed, and mild-mannered towards courtly men; and there was no more commotion nor fooling about, except at first.)

What Raimon is describing is essentially the calm, relatively intimate context of the *familia* - the lord, surrounded by his *nuititz* and the knights and *soudadiers* of his household.⁶⁷

Given the terms in which Marcabru presented himself, it would seem that he was addressing an audience composed largely of his peers, who would have shared the anxieties he expressed concerning the decline of 'Youth' opportunities and the disappearance of the 'old' values and virtues of generosity. Perhaps he was telling them exactly what they wanted to hear? The intellectual content and allusions of some of his songs also indicate that the alert, fashionable, young public may sometimes have contained an educated element.⁶⁸

There remains something of a question mark over the reaction of the most important member of his audience - the lord himself. After all, he it must have been who most often actually paid the piper, even though the piper had just denounced seigneurial avarice. Of course, the style of the performance could be finely judged in order to exempt, by implication, present company from the poet's scathing denunciations.⁶⁹ On the other hand, Marcabru's frequent use of *vos* in a number of songs would indicate that he did not always shrink from pointing the finger of accusation directly at his audience.

If we consider Marcabru's use of the second person pronoun in the context of his emphasis on the first person singular, a rather different, less socially specific aspect of his self-presentation emerges.⁷⁰ In his *sirventes* Marcabru stresses the individual nature of his own feelings and reactions. His highly personalised style is complemented by another feature of his songs: he refers to himself by name more often than almost any other troubadour.⁷¹ He names himself four times in connection with his poetic skills, in passages such as the opening stanza of 'Aujatz de chan':

Aujatz de chan, com s'enans'e meillura,
e Marcabrus, segon s'entensa pura,
sap la razon e.l vers lassar e faire
si que autr'om no l'en mot un pot traire.

(Listen to how my song progresses and improves, and Marcabru, with his flawless judgement, knows how to make and bind together the theme and the song so that no one can extract a word from it.)

This is a form of self-advertisement which a number of other troubadours exploited, but Marcabru also names himself more than fifteen times in connection with the song's message: of the *gardadors* who seduce their charges, he declares that Marcabru knows who these shifty characters are ('A l'alena'); the lord wears a cuckold's horns and his wife swells up with someone else's bastard, and he says that Marcabru declares this to be so (XII^{bis}); of the disappearance of *largesse* and courtly standards he says that Marcabru alone rails against this social scourge ('Lo vers comenssa').⁷² All save one of these references are found in the context of condemnation of vice and degeneracy, and nine concern adultery.⁷³ It becomes clear that Marcabru is underlining the connection between his particularly outrageous subject-matter and his own name and personal opinions.

Marcabru's name also appears on the Catalan nobleman Guerau de Cabrera's list of all the works which his unsatisfactory and ignorant *joglar* ought to know. Cabrera mentions the troubadours Jaufre Rudel, Eble II de Ventadorn and a certain *n'Anfos*, together with their contemporary, Marcabru.⁷⁴ He uses the honorific *En* for everyone but Marcabru and, although this could be taken as evidence that Marcabru was low-born, or a friend of Cabrera, or both, the editor points out that while the troubadours employ titles with a patronymic, they do not use them with a *cognomen*.⁷⁵

Marcabru plays on his own name in his songs - but was it really his own name? Is it not more likely to have been, like Cercamon's, a professional soubriquet?⁷⁶ The name has been interpreted variously as meaning 'he who writes darkly or obscurely', or as 'Brown Mark' (indicating some kind of birth mark?), but to my knowledge no one has explored these suggestions any further.⁷⁷ Scholars have noted that there is no trace of the historical man, that his name is not to be found on any surviving historical document of the period, and Martin de Riquer attributes this to his supposedly lowly birth,⁷⁸ but if 'Marcabru' were an assumed stage-name, it would be unlikely to appear in charter witness-lists or any other official document.

I can think of no way of testing this hypothesis, but if 'Marcabru' were a stage-name, it would be one particularly well-impressed on the public memory from the numerous self-references woven into his songs - 'so that no one can extract a word from it', as he says - and by the time that his *vidas* were composed, all traces of the historical man

may have vanished so that, as the biographer says, 'no one ever knew who he was nor where he came from' (MS A). Perhaps all that remained was a vague awareness that Marcabru was not his original name, and this was translated by the biographer into the information that 'at that time his name was *Pan-perdut*, but thereafter he was called Marcabru'.⁷⁹

Marcabru's repeated self-references - using what was probably an assumed stage-name - may have attenuated the offensiveness of some of his remarks, and helped to save him from some of the more dangerous consequences of abusing his audience. Moreover, the association of the name with his poetic and ideological stance suggests that the stage-name was an indication of the stage-*persona* adopted during performances by the public entertainer.

Mrs Rhoda Sutherland observed that, within the constraints which the lyric and aesthetic conventions of the *canço* imposed upon the composer-performer, the poets specialised in creating for themselves an individual personality or the temperament of a certain type of lover.⁸⁰ Elements of the roles they performed are woven into the texts of their songs. I suspect that what was true of the poet-lovers of the *cançons* is also true of the performer Marcabru. His moralising *sirventes* contain the elements of his role of *castiador* - critic, castigating, reforming teacher - and the frequency with which he names himself reinforces the impression that he is anxious to impress upon the mind of his audience the association between the stage-personality, the name, and the critical message of his moralising songs.

It also invites the conclusion that Marcabru made it his stock-in-trade to tell the nobility unpleasant home-truths and that he took a certain pride in his own plain-speaking and occasionally obscene bluntness:

E morrai si no.m n'esclaire (V, 6)

(I'll die if I don't speak my mind about this subject),

or

Non puosc sofrir qu'als moilleratz
Non diga lor forfaitz saubutz (XXXIX, 50-51)

(I cannot keep myself from telling husbands their well-known faults),

or

Estas putas ardens cremans
Pejors que ieu no.us saubra dir. (XXXIV, 31-32)

(These ardent, burning whores (are) worse than I would know how to tell you).

That it was this dramatic, aggressive approach which the public appreciated is hinted at in 'Aujatz de chan', where Marcabru deplores the rise of *Malvestatz* which dismays many people: this inspires him to take up arms ('sia guerrejaire', 7), for people like to hear him shout and rant.⁸¹

In Marcabru's poetic exchange with Aldric there may also be some indication of the way in which his physical performance complemented the content of his compositions. Aldric notes that Marcabru is thinking of moving on to another court (XX, 3) and adds:

Grans er tos sens,
Si ren sai prens,
Per nuilla paor de chantar
En rauca votz
Que ruich e glotz
E non glafilla n'aut ni clar. (13-18)

(You will be very clever indeed to get anything/any reward here, for you are not afraid to sing(?) in your raucous voice that bellows and rumbles, and cannot reach the high, pure notes.)⁸²

Is this just humorously gratuitous slander, such as is found in Peire d'Alvernhe's 'Cantarai d'aqestz trobadors', or is it a clue to the actual style of delivery of Marcabru's fierce moralising?⁸³ His harsh voice would have suited his harsh words, and his creation of a distinctive and vigorously abrasive poetic personality may be seen as canny professional exploitation of a gap in the market, as it were. Within the conventions of the moralising *sirventes*, the role of critical *castiador* offered scope for developing an individual stage personality.

The poet could explore the themes of corruption and social, spiritual decay which were fundamental to the Christian and rhetorical traditions of his society, and dramatise them lyrically.⁸⁴ There are numerous parallels between his moralising songs and sermonising techniques - indeed, this was how an anonymous *trobairitz* later depicted him:

Qu'En Marcabrus, a ley de predicair
Quant es en gleiza ho denant orador
Que di gran mal de la gen mescrezen,
Et el ditz mal de donas eyssamen. (23-28)⁸⁵

(For in the manner of a preacher in church or in front of a shrine who strongly criticises unbelievers, Sir Marcabru similarly spoke badly of ladies.)

To this dramatic role the poet firmly fixed the label 'Marcabru'. Other troubadours pronounced similar moralising criticisms, but none associated their names with this stance with the same frequency as Marcabru: other troubadours introduced their names into their songs, but not in the context of a moralising polemic. Only Arnaut Daniel and Raimon de Miraval come close to equalling the number of Marcabru's self-references.⁸⁶ By means of the associated rhetorical strategies, all three troubadours are, *inter alia*, laying claim to individuality and distinction, and associating their names with the lyric product.⁸⁷ But in some respects Marcabru's self-affirmation may be of a slightly different order in that, in many of his *sirventes*, he appears to distance himself both from the distressing experiences evoked in the song and from the audience whom he says he is instructing: a pattern which recurs in his songs is of the lyric 'I' who announces his intention of telling 'vos' about a different matter (such as the prevalence of promiscuity), or about their own failings.⁸⁸ The inclusion of the troubadour's name serves to underscore this differentiation of the wicked and corrupt from the figure observing and judging:

D'aquest flagel
Marcabrus si coreilla,
ses compaigno. ('Lo vers comenssa', 91-93)

(Alone, without companion, Marcabru complains about this scourge.)

If this is a voice crying in the wilderness, it nevertheless belongs to a figure who claims to possess superior knowledge and a privileged insight into the ways of the world,⁸⁹ and who, by means of phrases such as 'lo ditz Marcabrus' (XII^{bis} 35) and 'segon so que Marcabrus ditz' (IV MS I, 53), often constitutes himself as an authority on a par with Solomon, Ovid, or the other Scriptural sources he cites in his works: 'ço dis Salamos e Daviz' (*tenso*, 32), or 'segon que ditz Salamos' (XXIX, 25), for example.⁹⁰ That Guillem de l'Olivier later refers to Marcabru in the same way, as an *auctor*, is not surprising, since this is an essential part of the early troubadour's self-presentation. If Marcabru cites *himself* so often in his own works, this rather implies some assumption of public awareness of his songs as a corpus, and that a *historical* audience would be familiar with Marcabru in his *literary* incarnation.⁹¹

His was perhaps a rather daring choice of dramatic role: he was not welcomed at the court of every magnate - *if*, that is, we are to believe his complaints about lack of remuneration and the occasional bitter remark about his difficulty in finding shelter and goodwill with the barons.⁹² On the evidence of the MSS, however, his distinctive style did have an enduring appeal, and his *persona* may have allowed him to get away with much in the way of caustic criticism - just as much was later tolerated in the outrageous but wise court fool.⁹³ Dietmar Rieger was struck by the similarities between Marcabru's approach and modern satirical revues, and it is pleasing to find that a biography of the outspoken and controversial American entertainer, Lennie Bruce, is subtitled: 'The Comedian as Social Critic and Secular Moraliser', epithets which modern critics have applied to Marcabru.⁹⁴ One may conclude that Marcabru also specialised in abusing his audience and, while moralising, the entertainer bit the hand he hoped would feed him.

NOTES

¹ An earlier version of this paper was given at a seminar at the Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Reading, and benefited greatly from the comments and suggestions made by the

participants. I am also indebted to Dr Sarah Kay of Girton College, Cambridge, who offered valuable criticisms of the early draft.

² Texts in *Biographies des troubadours: textes provençaux des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, ed. J. Boutière and A.H. Schutz, Paris 1964², pp.10-13.

³ On the reliability of Marcabru's *vida* in MS A, see G. Bertoni, 'Due note provenzali. I. Marcabruno', *Studi Medievali*, 3, 1911, 641-44 (644); on that in MS K, see F. Pirot, *Recherches sur les connaissances littéraires des troubadours occitans et catalans des XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Barcelona 1972, p.249.

⁴ On *caitivetz* as a description of the subject-matter and tone rather than as a critical judgement of the songs, see V. Bertolucci Pizzorusso, 'Marcabru e il suo biografo', *Studi Mediolatini e Volgari*, 17, 1969, 17-19.

⁵ See F.M. Chambers, *Proper Names in the Lyrics of the Troubadours*, Chapel Hill 1971. This is a very high number of references to such an early troubadour: using Chambers, the numbers of relatively secure references by *later* poets to Marcabru's contemporaries appear to be: Cercamon (0); Jaufre Rudel (3); Bernart Marti/de Saissac (1); Peire d'Alvernhe (2); Bernart de Ventadorn (1); Raimbaut d'Aurenga (1); Giraut de Borneil (3). The majority of these references occur in the 'galeries littéraires' of Peire d'Alvernhe and the Monk of Montaudan.

⁶ *Le 'Breviari d'Amor' de Matfre Ermengaud*, V, ed. P.T. Ricketts, Leiden 1976, vv.28238-9, and see pp.21-22 for the other passages of Marcabru's songs quoted in the *Breviari* (all save one show Marcabru as social critic, or misogynist or cynical enemy of love). Text of Marcoat's song in M. de Riquer, *Los trovadores: historia literaria y textos*, 3 vols, Barcelona 1975, I, Poem 33. De Riquer suggests that Roilis was punished or tortured by having his nose or lips cut off (p.262 - see his textual notes on the difficulties of interpreting this passage). Peire d'Alvernhe (De Riquer, I, Poem 45) praises Marcabru's 'great sense of what was right' (see L.T. Topsfield, 'The "Natural Fool" in Peire d'Alvernhe, Marcabru and Bernart de Ventadorn', in *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire, de linguistique et de philologie romane offerts à Charles Rostaing*, 2 vols, Liege 1974, II, pp.1149-58); Guillem de l'Olivier recalls Marcabru's frequently propounded views on heredity, moral qualities and adulteration of the noble blood-line (see K. Bartsch, *Denkmäler der provenzalischen Literatur*, Stuttgart 1856, p.27, *cobla* 7); Bernart Marti and Guillem Magret (De Riquer, I, Poem 31, and II, Poem 181) evoke the fame of Marcabru's 'Vers del Lavador'; Guerau de Cabrera mentions Marcabru as a colleague (see n.74 below).

⁷ *Joufroi de Poitiers: roman d'aventures du XIII^e siècle*, ed. P.B. Fay and J.L. Grigsby, Geneva 1972, v.3605.

⁸ Marcabru is the only artist named in the enumeration of works

performed at the wedding feast in *Flamenca* (see R. Lavaud and R. Nelli, *Jaufre. Flamenca. Barlaam et Josaphat*, Paris 1960, v.702), and his name serves as an indication of period in the *vida* of Peire de Valeira (see Boutière and Schutz, p.14).

⁹ 41 in total, according to Dejeanne's attribution, assuming that XX^{bis} is correctly ascribed to Marcabru and XX is the work of Aldric del Vilar. According to De Riquer, six songs may with certainty be attributed to Jaufre Rudel and seven to Cercamon (I, pp.153 and 220).

¹⁰ References are to *Poésies complètes du troubadour Marcabru*, ed. J.M.L. Dejeanne, Toulouse 1909, unless more recent editions of single poems are indicated.

¹¹ See for example, C. Leube-Fey, *Bild und Funktion der 'dompna' in der Lyrik der Troubadours*, Heidelberg 1971, p.61 n.134, and L.T. Topsfield, *Troubadours and Love*, Cambridge 1975, pp.101-107, and most recently, work by Richard Goddard on which I draw here ('The Early Troubadours and the Latin Tradition', unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 1986).

¹² See XXXIX sts. 2-5, 8 (husbands) and 9 (court officials: see discussion below). *Enrazigatz* (57) links st.9 to the allegorical tree.

¹³ Marcabru uses the term *con* on six occasions (IV, 34; XI, 49; XVII, 33; XXIV, 22; XLI, 35; XLII, 17), the adjectival derivation four times (XVII, 42 and 44; XII^{bis} 33; XXXI, 21), and the verb *fotre* once (XXIV, 20). On the function of such terms in moralising poetry see W.D. Stempel, 'Mittelälterliche Obszönität als literarästhetische Problem', in *Die nicht mehr schönen Künste*, ed. H.R. Jauss, Munich 1968, pp.187-207 (p.163).

¹⁴ On 'lo clau copar' see P. Falk, 'Le Cuvre-chef comme symbole du mari trompé', *Studia Neophilologica*, 33, 1961, 39-68 (55 n.1). On the disastrous social consequences of such liaisons, see XXXIV st.5 and XXXI st.6.

¹⁵ See, however, W. Pagani, 'Per un'interpretazione di "A la fontana del vergier"', *Studi Mediolatini e Volgari*, 20, 1972, 169-72 (on the satirical nature of I); S.B. Gaunt, 'Irony in Selected Early Troubadours' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Warwick, 1987), pp.175-83 (on irony and parody in XV); De Riquer, I, p.211 (on satire and parody in XXV-XXVI); E. Köhler, *Sociologia della 'Fin'amor'*, Padua 1976, pp.195-215 (on XXX as part of Marcabru's fierce polemic). It may be that his enduring appeal lay in the music of his songs, but since the MSS have preserved the musical notation for only four of his compositions, one is obliged to look elsewhere for an explanation of his popularity.

¹⁶ This song has the appearance of a show-piece composition, designed to attract potential patrons: see S.B. Gaunt and R.E. Harvey,

'Text and Context in a Poem by Marcabru', in *The Troubadours and the Epic: Essays in Memory of W. Mary Hackett*, The Department of French, University of Warwick 1987, pp.59-101, esp. p.75 on the impact of this stanza.

¹⁷ 'Car el fo tant maldizens que a la fin lo desfeiron li castellan de Guian(a), de cui avia dich mout grant mal' (Boutière and Schutz, p.12).

¹⁸ See F. Pirot, 'Ce n'était point le troubadour Marcabru', *Annales du Midi*, 78, 1966, 537-41 on the absence of any documentary trace of the troubadour. See P. Boissonnade, 'Les Personnages et les événements de l'histoire d'Allemagne, de France et d'Espagne dans l'oeuvre de Marcabru (1129-1150): essai sur la biographie du poète et la chronologie de ses poésies', *Romania*, 48, 1922, 207-43, and C. Appel, 'Zu Marcabru', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 43, 1923, 403-69, on the poet's itinerary, patrons and career. I am currently working on a *mise à jour* of this material.

¹⁹ See Gaunt and Harvey.

²⁰ Ed. A. Roncaglia, 'Marcabruno: "Aujatz de chan"', *Cultura Neolatina*, 17, 1957, 20-48.

²¹ See Roncaglia, pp.33-34 on these lines. Cf. the poet's complaints about these barons in 'Emperaire, per mi mezeis', 10-11 (ed. A. Roncaglia, 'I due sirventesi di Marcabruno ad Alfonso VII', *Cultura Neolatina*, 10, 1950, 157-83).

²² M.P. Whitney, 'Queen of Medieval Virtues: *Largesse*', in *Vassar Medieval Studies*, ed. C.F. Fiske, New York 1923, pp.181-215 (p.195). On gifts of cups see Whitney, p.194, and Boissonnade, p.238.

²³ See De Riquer, I, Poem 28.

²⁴ See Boissonnade, p.239, and U. Mölk, *Trobar Clus, Trobar Leu*, Munich 1968, pp.92 and 98. Cf. L.M. Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence*, Oxford 1975, pp.39-40, on the significance of the *rana*, symbol of false loquacity, in this song.

²⁵ See F. Pirot, 'L'Idéologie des troubadours: examen des travaux récents', *Le Moyen Age*, 74, 1968, 310-31 (317). On the connection between composer and performer, see W.D. Paden, 'The Role of the *Joglar* in Troubadour Lyric Poetry', in *Chrétien de Troyes and the Troubadours: Essays in Memory of the late Leslie Topsfield*, Cambridge 1984, pp.90-111, and the comments by Sarah Kay, 'Rhetoric and Subjectivity in the Troubadour Lyric', in *The Troubadours and the Epic*, pp.102-42 (107-10). Cf. the *tenso*, 41-44, where Uc Catola likens Marcabru to 'foolish joglars' ('aitals joglars esbaliuz'): see A. Roncaglia, 'La tenzone tra Ugo Catola e Marcabruno', in *Linguistica e filologia: omaggio a Benvenuto Terracini*, Milan 1968, pp.203-54 (244-45).

²⁶ See S. Stronski, *La Poésie et la réalité au temps des troubadours*, Oxford 1943, p.7, and n.83 below. See also Gaunt, 'Irony', pp.164-75 on XX-XX^{bis}.

²⁷ See Roncaglia, 'La tenzone', pp.208-209, on the identification of the troubadour Uc Catola with the intended recipient of the letter Peter the Venerable sent to a knight addressed as 'Charissimo amico nostro domno Hugoni Catulae'. I do not, however, agree with the arguments Roncaglia employs to date the composition of Marcabru's *tenso*, and hope to examine these elsewhere. Aldric del Vilar remains unidentified.

²⁸ See Pirot, 'Idéologie', p.319, and *Recherches*, p.147.

²⁹ See for example *Il trovatore Cercamon*, ed. V. Tortoreto, Modena 1981, VI st.6; *L'Amour et la guerre: l'oeuvre de Bertran de Born*, ed. G. Gouiran, 2 vols. Aix-en-Provence 1985, XIV st.2; *Sämtliche Lieder des Trobadors Guiraut de Bornelh*, ed. A. Kolsen, 2 vols, Halle 1910, 1935, LV, 46-51.

³⁰ Ed. A. Roncaglia, 'Marcabruno: "Al departir del brau tempier"', *Cultura Neolatina*, 13, 1953, 5-33. On *bauducs*, see Roncaglia, 'Al departir', p.17, and Rayn.II.200: s.m. - 'dispute, confusion, mélange'; and II.201: *bauducx*, adj. - 'querelleurs'.

³¹ See P.T. Ricketts, ' "Doas cuidas ai, compaigner" de Marcabru: édition critique, traduction et commentaire', in *Mélanges de philologie romane offerts à Charles Camproux*, 2 vols, Montpellier 1978, I, pp.179-94 (188-89).

³² See also J.H. Marshall, 'The "Doas Cuidas" of Marcabru', in *Chrétien de Troyes and the Troubadours*, pp.27-33 (29-30), who offers a different reading of these lines.

³³ See Mary Hackett, 'Some Feudal and Military Terms in *Girart de Roussillon: Quintane, Mostreison and Soudader*', in *The Medieval Alexander Legend and Romance Epic: Essays in Honour of David J.A. Ross*, London 1983, pp.71-83 (esp. 74, on the distinction between household knights and *soudadiers* recruited for a particular campaign); L.M. Paterson, 'Knights and the Concept of Knighthood in the Twelfth-century Occitan Epic', in *Knighthood in Medieval Literature*, ed. W.H. Jackson, Woodbridge 1981, pp.23-38 (28-29) on the preponderance of *soudadiers* and poor knights in the South; E. Köhler, 'Sens et fonction du terme "Jeunesse" dans la poésie des troubadours', in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, 2 vols, Poitiers 1966, I, pp.569-83 (575); M. Chibnall, 'Mercenaries and the *Familia Regis* under Henry I', *History*, 62, 1977, 15-23.

³⁴ See L.M. Paterson, 'The Concept of Knighthood in the Twelfth-century Occitan Lyric', in *Chrétien de Troyes and the Troubadours*, pp.112-32 (122); see also pp.115 and 120 on the *soudadiers*.

³⁵ *The Poetry of Cercamon and Jaufre Rudel*, ed. R. Rosenstein and G.

Wolf, New York 1983, p.6.

³⁶ See G. Duby, 'Dans la France du Nord-Ouest au XII^e siècle: les "jeunes" dans la société aristocratique', *Annales, Économies, Sociétés et Civilisations*, 19, 1964, 835-46, and Paterson, 'Epic', p.28.

³⁷ See A.J. Denomy, 'Jovens: the Notion of Youth Among the Troubadours, Its Meaning and Source', *Medieval Studies*, 11, 1949, 1-21 (1-10). Such passages include 'Aujatz de chan', 13; XVIII, 7; 'Doas cuidas', 70; XXI, 25; XXXIV, 6-7; XXXIX, 40-42. See Köhler, 'Jeunesse', p.574, and cf. U. Liebertz-Grun, *Zur Soziologie des 'Amour Courtois'*, Heidelberg 1977, pp.97-108. While I appreciate the latter's criticisms of Köhler's overall assumptions and approach, I feel they are of limited relevance to my discussion of Marcabru, and Liebertz-Grun herself concedes that it is likely that *Marcabru* was voicing the interests of 'der jungen, noch unverheirateten Adeligen' (106).

³⁸ Cf. XX, 31-36, which indicates that this is how Aldric is presenting Marcabru's approaches.

³⁹ 'Le Chien Pan-perdu et le chat Marcabru de Frédéric Mistral', in *Mélanges de philologie romane dédiés à la mémoire de Jean Boutière* 2 vols, Liege 1971, II, pp.801-806 (802-803).

⁴⁰ 'Pan-perdu', p.805. Cf. Goddard, 'The Latin Tradition', p.71.

⁴¹ Cf. XVI, 16-18 (ed. A. Roncaglia, 'Il gap de Marcabruno', *Studi Medievali*, 17, 1951, 46-70). On the erotic connotations of these lines, see Paterson, *Eloquence*, p.23.

⁴² See Pirot, 'Idéologie', p.317.

⁴³ See A.H. Schutz, 'Joglar, borges, cavalier dans les biographies provençales: essai d'évaluation sémantique', in *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature romanes à la mémoire d'István Frank*, Saarbrücken 1957, pp.672-7 (677), and Paden, p.92, for a discussion of similar cases.

⁴⁴ R. Lejeune, 'Le Nom de Bernart de Ventadorn', in *Mittelalterstudien. Erich Köhler zum Gedenken*, Heidelberg 1984, pp.157-65.

⁴⁵ From the MSS variants, it would appear that only **R** comes close to the reading Dejeanne adopts. The other MSS point rather to *Brunsmarcs* as a name. See also J.C. Dinguiraud, 'Une Lecture de Marcabru', *Via Domitia*, 26, 1981, 6-45 (14), on the unlikelihood of 'Marcabruna' giving Marcabru in the masculine.

⁴⁶ See S. Spence, 'Changing Life Styles: the *Vidas* of Marcabru', *Romance Notes*, 26, 1985, 164-70 (166).

⁴⁷ 'Land, Family and Women in Continental Europe, 700-1200', in *Women in Medieval Society*, ed. S. Mosher Stuard, Pennsylvania 1976, pp.13-45. In many of the cases he surveys, 'there can be no question of disguising an illicit paternity' (22). See also S. Shahar, *The Fourth*

Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages, London 1983, p.90.

⁴⁸ S.G. Nichols, 'The Promise of Performance: Discourse and Desire in the Early Troubadour Lyric', in *The Dialectic of Discovery: Essays in Honour of Lawrence E. Harvey*, Lexington 1985, pp.93-108 (107 n.3).

⁴⁹ 'Marcabru and the Origins of *Trobar Clus*', in *The Medieval World*, ed. D. Daiches and A. Thorlby, London 1973, pp.485-523 (488 and 501). Cf. A. Roncaglia, 'Due schede provenzali per gli amici ispanisti: I. Un albero che ha radici in Ispagna', *Studi di Letteratura Spagnola*, 3, 1966, 129-34 (133-34), who sees a network of references to such men in Marcabru's songs: I cannot agree with all his identifications.

⁵⁰ On this point see also R.H. Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages*, Chicago and London 1983, pp.108-12.

⁵¹ Lawner, p.497.

⁵² The glib, misleading men who are responsible for the disappearance of true, spotless love (XXI, 19-24) could be identified with the foolish troubadours who confuse true love with false (XXXVII, 7-14), and the wicked men with their sharpened tongues who disturb and corrupt *amistat fina*, dishonouring husbands (XXXVI, 13-18) (see Appel, pp.449-50). On the *gardador/girbaut*, see especially XXIX, 19-30. On court functionaries, see for example M. Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. M.M. Postan, 2 vols, London 1961-62, II, p.337, and D. Rieger, *Gattungen und Gattungensbezeichnungen der Trobadourlyrik*, Tübingen 1976, pp.40-43.

⁵³ See Goddard, 'The Latin Tradition', pp.66-69; Rosenstein and Wolf, pp.6-7; Tortoreto, pp.175-76.

⁵⁴ See Goddard, 'The Latin Tradition', esp. p.71.

⁵⁵ VI, 25-28 and 31-36. On 'maïstre' and its implications, see Goddard, 'The Latin Tradition', p.70, and cf. G. Duby, 'The Culture of the Knightly Class: Audience and Patronage', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R.L. Benson and G. Constable, Oxford 1982, pp.248-62 (256), on the clerics 'who found temporary or permanent employment in noble households'; also R.W. Southern, 'The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres', in *Renaissance and Renewal*, pp.113-37 ('Masters in Government', 134-35).

⁵⁶ See Duby, 'Culture', p.258.

⁵⁷ Ed. P.T. Ricketts, ' "A l'alena del vent doussa" de Marcabru: édition critique, traduction et commentaire', *Revue des Langues romanes*, 78, 1968, 109-15 (114). Cf. *The Life and Works of the Troubadour Raimbaut d'Aurenga*, ed. W.T. Pattison, Minneapolis 1962, pp.91-92: 'estrag, estraiç, "of low birth, bastard" '.

⁵⁸ Cf. D. Rieger, 'Der *Gardador* zwischen Ross und Zelter', *Zeitschrift*

für *romanische Philologie*, 94, 1978, 27-41 (41), and see J. Martindale, 'Cavalaria et Orgueil: Duke William IX of Aquitaine and the Historian', in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood II*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey, Woodbridge 1988, pp.87-116 (100-101 and n.55), on the entourage of Guilhem IX.

⁵⁹ *Gastaus*: see G. Körting, *Lateinisches-romanisches Wörterbuch*, Paderborn 1907³, 4180 - 'Gutsverwalter, Haushofmeister'.

⁶⁰ On squatting by the fire or hearth as terms of abuse, see Gaunt and Harvey, pp.68-69 (n. to IV, 17); cf. XXIX, 23-24.

⁶¹ *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, 10 vols, Niort 1883-87, VII, 294, s.v. *salutes*. On lawful and illegitimate perks of office for stewards and other managers, see Bloch, II, pp.338-39, and P.S. Noble, 'Kay the Seneschal in Chrétien de Troyes and his Predecessors', *Reading Medieval Studies*, I, 1975, 55-70 (n.22).

⁶² See Noble, p.58 and B. Woledge, 'Bons Vavasisseurs et mauvais sénéchaux', in *Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune*, 2 vols, Gembloux 1969, II, pp.1263-77 (1276-77).

⁶³ See A. Peterson, *Le Passage populaire des noms de personne à l'état de nom commun dans les langues romanes*, Uppsala 1929, p.47, and O. Schultz-Gora, 'Zum Übergange von Eigennamen in Appellativa', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 18, 1894, 130-37 (132-33).

⁶⁴ 'The Status of the Norman Knight', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Gillingham and J.C. Holt, Woodbridge 1984, pp.18-32 (24), with reference to *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols., Oxford 1969-80, VI, p.350. In much the same spirit Marcabru refers to Emperor Lothar II as a *gartz* ('Aujatz de chan', 20); cf. G.G. Nicholson, 'François gars, garçon: Provençal gartz, garson', *Romania*, 50, 1924, 94-98, on the connotations and development of this term.

⁶⁵ *Il Pubblico dei trovatori: ricezione e riuso dei testi lirici cortesi fino al XIV secolo*, Modena 1984, pp.56-66 (esp. 63). See also G.M. Cropp, 'The Partimen between Folquet de Marseille and Tostemps', in *The Interpretation of Medieval Lyric Poetry*, ed. W.T.H. Jackson, London 1980, pp.91-112 (93).

⁶⁶ Ed. W. Bohs, A. Puygrenier and R. Teulat, Éditions Orionis Cournon D'Auvergne 1988. See Meneghetti, pp.80-86, and L.M. Paterson, 'Great Court Festivals in the South of France and Catalonia in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Medium Aevum*, 51, 1982, 213-24 (220-21).

⁶⁷ Cf. Bloch, II, p.302.

⁶⁸ See the forthcoming article by Richard Goddard, 'The Iconography of the Whore in Marcabru's *Soudadier*, per cui es iovens, Marbod of Rennes and the Beatus de Liébana MSS', *Romanistisches Jahrbuch für*

Literaturgeschichte, 1988, for speculation on this point.

⁶⁹ See Meneghetti, pp.50-53, and Gaunt and Harvey, pp.59-85, on Marcabru IV. Cf. G.T. Wright, *The Poet in the Poem*, Berkeley 1960, p.36: 'satiric invective relies on the reader to see through the extravagance of the persona's wordplay and consequently to sense his own superiority'.

⁷⁰ Cf. P. Zumthor, 'Le "je" de la chanson et le "moi" du poète', in *Langue, texte, énigme*, Paris 1975, pp.181-96, on one method of analysing this emphasis: for Marcabru, one must add his name and related third person singular forms.

⁷¹ See S. Kay, 'La Notion de personnalité chez les troubadours', in *Mittelalterbilder aus neuen Perspektive*, ed. E. Ruhe and R. Behrens, Munich 1985, pp.166-82 (127 n.17), to which can be added Cercamon (ed. Tortoreto, I, 57; VI, 49; VII, 50).

⁷² P.T. Ricketts, ' "Lo vers comenssa" de Marcabru: édition critique, traduction et commentaire', in *Chrétien de Troyes and the Troubadours*, pp.7-26. On poetic skills, see also XIV, 51; XXXIII, 49; 'Lavador', 2. On the message, see also IV, 53; XVII, 40; XVIII, 67; 'Doas cuidas', 52; XX^{bis} 20; 'Empereire, per mi mezeis', 37; 'Empereire, per vostre prez', 23; XXV, 60; XXXI, 54; XXXVI, 31; XXXIX, 47; XL, 32.

⁷³ On the exception (IV, 53), see Gaunt and Harvey, p.78. References in XLI, 44 and XXXVIII MSS C and R have not been included in this survey.

⁷⁴ Ja vers novel
bon d'En Rudell
non cug que.t pas sutz lo guignon,
de Markabrun,
ni de negun
ni de n'Anfos ni de N'Eblon. (25-30)

(I don't believe that a good, new song by Sir Rudel, by Marcabru, Sir Alfonso or Sir Eble or by anyone else ever issued from beneath that moustache of yours.)

(Ed. Pirot, *Recherches*, pp.546-62). See Pirot's commentary on these lines (pp.158-74).

⁷⁵ Pirot, *Recherches*, p.146. Cf. *The Poems of the Troubadour Peire Rogier*, ed. D.E.T. Nicholson, Manchester 1976, p.2, on the title *En* applied to this poet.

⁷⁶ See Boutière and Schutz, p.9, and Tortoreto, p.48 n.59 on the MSS I and K. On *joglars'* names and their meanings, if any, see Paden, pp.100-103.

⁷⁷ See Lawner, p.487, and Goddard, 'The Latin Tradition', p.64.

⁷⁸ De Riquer, I, p.171.

⁷⁹ Cf. M. Egan, 'Commentary, *Vitae Poetae and Vida*', *Romance Philology*, 37, 1983, 36-48 (47), who sees the change of name as representing a change in status, and Spence (p.168), who sees in *Pan-perdut* a punning opposition between *trobar* and *perdut*.

⁸⁰ 'L'Élément théâtral dans la *canço* chez les troubadours de l'époque classique', *Revue de Langue et de Littérature d'Oc*, 12-13, 1962-63, 95-101 (98). See also Sarah Kay's studies of 'sincerity' (nn.25 and 71 above), and J.H. Marshall, 'Dialogues of the Dead', in *The Troubadours and the Epic*, pp.37-58.

⁸¹ so m'en somon qu'ieu sia guerrejaire,
c'a lieis sap bo quan m'au cridar ni braire. (7-8)

Cf. also 'Empeiraire, per vostre prez', 13-16, for similar indications of Marcabru's approach.

⁸² On the interpretation of these lines, see K. Lewent, 'Beiträge zum Verständnis der Lieder Marcabrus', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 37, 1913, 313-37 and 427-51 (427), and cf. F.M. Chambers, ' "D'aisso lau Dieu" and Aldric del Vilar', *Romance Philology*, 35, 1982, 489-500 (493 n.9).

⁸³ Text in De Riquer, I, Poem 49. See De Riquer, I, pp.322-23, for a résumé of discussions of the circumstances of the song's composition and its tone: Peire points out that it is a joke (85-86). See in particular the stanza devoted to Guillem de Ribas, which resembles Aldric's attack on Marcabru:

e ditz totz sos vers raucamen,
per que es avols ses retins,
c'atretan s'en fari'us chins. (33-35).

⁸⁴ Marcabru's references to himself as a critic and preacher include the following passages: V, 31-36; XVII, 37-38; XXXVII, 43-46; XL, 43-49; XLI, 15-18 and 25-30.

⁸⁵ PC 404.5. I am grateful to Professor Marshall for permission to quote from his unpublished edition of this song. On sermons and parallels with Marcabru's songs, see Goddard, 'The Latin Tradition', pp.116-26.

⁸⁶ Analysis based on the 32 troubadours listed in Kay, 'Personnalité', p.127 n.17. Arnaut names himself 15 times in 19 songs (*The Poetry of Arnaut Daniel*, ed. J.J. Wilhelm, New York 1981), and Raimon de Miraval 23 times in 44 songs (*Les Poésies du troubadour Raimon de Miraval*, ed. L.T. Topsfield, Paris 1971): on 21 occasions Miraval the place denotes Raimon the man (see edn. p.245). Relatively few of Marcabru's self-references are found in the *tornada* where the other two poets often declare their love and/or send their song to their lady, attaching their names to these statements.

⁸⁷ On the practical advantages of such self-references, see M. Stevens,

'The Performing Self in Twelfth-century Culture', *Viator*, 9, 1978, 193-212 (210), and cf. R. Warning, 'Moi lyrique et société chez les troubadours', in *L'Archaeologie du signe*, ed. L. Brind'Amour and E. Vance, Toronto 1983, pp.64-100 (69-72), and Kay, 'Subjectivity'.

⁸⁸ See Kay, 'Personnalité', pp.169-70, and cf. F. Goldin, 'The Array of Perspectives in the Early Courtly Lyric', in *In Pursuit of Perfection*, ed. G. Economou and J.M. Ferrante, London 1975, pp.51-101, who sees the singer of the *canço* as involving each section of the audience in turn in an aesthetic complicity. See for example, Marcabru VII, 33; XV, 6; XVII, 1-2, and VII, 41; VIII, 16-17; XII^{bis} 36-37.

⁸⁹ See for example, XXXI, 60; 'Lo vers comenssa', 52; XXXIX, 19-20.

⁹⁰ For Marcabru as *auctor*, see for example, 'Doas cuidas', 52; XXXI, 54; XL, 32. Cf. *tenso*, 37; XVII, 4; XVIII, 63; XX^{bis} 11; XLIV, 9. On translations of *auctores* as part of basic schooling, see Goddard, 'The Latin Tradition', pp.189-93 and 197. The first two of Cercamon's self-references also fall into this category (see n.71 above).

⁹¹ See D. Riquer, ' "Dons Costans" der Betrüger: zu Marcabrus "Dirai vos en mon lati" ', *Romanische Forschungen*, 94, 1982, 443-50, on the way in which some of Marcabru's allegories, images and allusions may only be elucidated by means of reference to his other songs.

⁹² See 'Lo vers comenssa', 7-9.

⁹³ See M. Shapiro, 'Fols Naturaus: The Born Fool as Literary Type', *Romance Notes*, 19, 1978, 243-7, and E. Welsford, *The Fool, His Social and Literary History*, London 1935, pp.114-24, for twelfth-century references. Cf. R.C. Elliott, *The Literary Persona*, Chicago 1982, p.47: 'a mask ... confers a right of acting and speaking with less restraint, even when the wearer happens to be known'.

⁹⁴ 'Dons Costans', p.449; F. Kofsky, *Lennie Bruce: The Comedian as Social Critic and Secular Moralizer*, New York 1974.